1944

# The Relations between Colombia and the United States, 1904-1944

Mary Eudocia Parsons
*Loyola University Chicago*

# THE RELATIONS BETWEEN COLOMBIA AND THE UNITED STATES, 1904-1944

BY

SISTER MARY EUDOCIA PARSONS, S.S.N.D.

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN LOYOLA UNIVERSITY

DECEMBER

1944

# VITA

Sister Mary Eudocia Parsons S.S.N.D. was born in Rock Island, Illinois, February 26, 1900.

She was graduated from the Academy of Our Lady, Chicago, Illinois, June 1919 and entered the Community of the School Sisters of Notre Dame in August 1920.

The Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in Sociology was conferred by Mount Mary College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, August, 1934.

The writer has been engaged in teaching Social Science in various schools taught by her community. For the past five years she has devoted time to graduate study in History.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

# CHAPTER I

## THE REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA

A number of factors have gone into the making of the modern Republic of Colombia. An understanding of these factors is essential to the understanding of the present conditions within Colombia and of the present position of that republic in relation to world affairs. Colombia is vitally bound up with the United States, as will become apparent in the course of this paper. We have had friendly and unfriendly relations with her in the past. We are now bound together by certain ties and national commitments not only for the period of the war but thereafter. To appreciate fully all of our relations as sister nations, it is necessary to review in a short space the elements of which Colombia has been formed.

Geography and topography have played their parts in the emergence of the growing republic. They have had their influence upon politics and upon social and economic developments. The climate has undoubtedly influenced the people. So have various calamities such as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, plagues and pestilences. Lack of physical health in the people has proved a problem and a drawback. The element of natural resources, the possibilities of agriculture and its products, the problem of transportation and distribution, are indeed very important.

The long colonial history must be studied because of the various features which it has stamped upon the modern life. In this period of Spanish control enduring for three centuries, society was formed, cities were established, a mode of life patterned upon the European was shaped, religious and cultural ideals were implanted. The era of the revolt from Spanish domination is, of course, of major importance. The long period of strife and backwardness following the emancipation from Spain will arouse sympathy for the nation in its struggle to maintain itself and will inspire admiration for the men who strained for eighty years to attain to the democratic ideals. Finally, in these past forty years, the factor of industrialization must be considered vital to an understanding of Colombia. Through these various periods of Colombia's progress have run the threads of such world-shaking philosophies as Mercantilism, Catholicism, Imperialism, French Revolutionary thought, and even Communism. Each of the elements has had some influence in shaping our relations with Colombia.

The geographical position of Colombia in the far northwest part of South America has brought it into the vision of the statesmen of many other countries. It once owned the appendage to South America, Panama, though travel by land between Panama and the Capital of Colombia has been virtually impossible. The Isthmus, it goes without saying, was long the focal point of the envious glances of various foreign countries. Colombia is, in

miles, relatively close to the United States. It has a strategic position in relation to the Caribbean area, with a coastline of 640 miles along the Caribbean Sea.[1] Its other coastline of 460 miles is on the Pacific Ocean. Its boundaries are contingent to those of Venezuela on the East, Brazil, Peru and Ecuador on the South, and Panama on the Northwest. The arranging of these boundaries has caused at times sharp diplomatic controversy and even warfare with neighboring nations, owing chiefly to the fact that surveys cannot readily be made in the almost unvisited jungles. Disputes have had their origin in the arrangements of provinces during Spanish colonial times, but none of them caused Colombia to embark on any extensive military campaign.

Colombia has a most varied topography. The coastal area offers several harbors on the Caribbean Sea at Santa Marta, Cartagena, and Puerto Colombia near Baranquilla, and on the Pacific there are the ports of Buenaventura and Tumaca. These outlets seem suitable for the present, although the hauls to them from the highlands and along the coasts through difficult terrain and jungles takes much time.

Beyond the sea fringe extending into the interior lies the republic, which is about as large (476,916 square miles) as the combined areas of our western states of Montana, Washington, Oregon and California, or about eight times the size of Illinois.

---

[1]Phanor James Eder, Colombia, London, 1913, 2.

The vast area is broken up into the regions of the higher mountains and plateaus, and the lower or jungle region drained on the southeast by the tributaries of the Amazon and the Orinoco Rivers. The higher regions cannot be considered as habitable. Most of the people live in the plateaus whose altitudes vary between 5,000 and 10,000 feet.

Three principal mountain ranges divide the country and have contributed much to prevent greater political unity. The mountains to the west are the Western Cordilleras of the great Andes Range. They form a barrier to outlets to the Pacific. They, like the Eastern and Central Cordilleras run approximately northeast by southwest. The Eastern range cuts off the highlands from the plains and jungles of the back country. All are virtually impassable to ordinary traffic. Other mountain ranges of the north separate Colombia from Venezuela and also separate the plateaus from the coastal area. The ranges contain eleven active volcanoes and innumerable canyons and gorges. These are in no wise beneficial to any progress, and at times have checked or thrown back local development.

A second group of surface features is the high basin or plateau region. In this region the streams have not yet cut deep gorges. One finds at an elevation of eight or nine thousand feet above sea level three large basins and a number of smaller basins. Coming at a swift rate from the mountains above, the rivers leave at the margin of these basins alluvial

fans, but after cutting across the fans the streams meander through the broad valleys, forming swamps and small lakes in the center of these basins.[2]

A third group of surface features is the lower slopes that lie below the plateaus. These are deeply gorged and in only a few places are there any small plateaus suitable for agriculture.

The chief means of access to the heart of Colombia has always been the Magdalena River and its chief tributary, the Cauca River. Although the Magdalena has been the main artery of commerce since the colonial days, it is still anything but satisfactory. Ocean vessels are unable to enter it because of the sand bars along its mouth. Above Calamar the channel frequently shifts, again because of sand bars. At a distance of 615 miles from the Caribbean navigation is again impeded by the Honda Falls. Above Honda, the Magdalena is again navigable by river boats as far as Neiva.[3] There are two other rivers which drain the northern section of the valley between the eastern and the central cordilleras; these are the Río Patia and the Río Cauca, both tributaries of the Magdalena. The Atrato River drains the Antioquia Region. This network of rivers besides being the main arteries of communication, have vast potentialities for electrical power, for when the rivers leave the higher basins they plunge in falls, the force of which, if properly harnessed,

---

[2]Preston E. James, Latin America, Odyssey Press, New York, 1942, 89.
[3]Ibid., 113.

could furnish mighty electrical power. The well known Falls of Tequendama are situated not far from the city of Bogota, to the great future advantage of that city.

In the Republic of Colombia, climate is a matter of vertical arrangement. The equator passes through the lower section of the Colombian Andes and these mountains are high enough to reach into the snow line. The hot climate extends from sea-level to about 3000 feet; the temperate climate from 3,000 feet to 6,500 feet, while the cold climate extends from 6,500 feet to a little over 10,000 feet.[4] These facts have always been serious drawbacks to the physical well-being of Colombia. Malaria, so prevalent in the hot, moist sections of Colombia, makes it almost impossible for whites to live along the coast and in the deep interior; they must seek homes higher up in the central tablelands. Because the Indian is susceptible to the most virulent forms of plagues, it was found necessary to import the negro for labor. These factors, it is obvious, account in a great part for the diversity of classes found in this Republic, and the diversity of classes again accounts for many of its social problems.

Vertical arrangement of climate also accounts in great measure for the distribution of population, which is concentrated between the Western and Eastern Cordilleras. While there is an average density of thirty-seven persons per square mile in

[4]Preston E. James, 91

this section, there is but one per square mile east of the mountains.[5] The population tends to be concentrated in fourteen separate areas, which can be grouped under six major headings. In the high plateaus of the Eastern Cordilleras are found three population clusters, one in the Department of Cundinmarca and two in the Department of Boyaca. Agriculture is the chief occupation of the inhabitants of this region although the emerald mines are worked at periodic intervals. Wheat, barley, maize and cattle come from this area, while two harvests are possible, one in August and a smaller one in December. Bogotá, the Capital of the Republic and the "Athens of America" is situated in this region.

Another division of the population lies in the valleys of lower altitudes. This includes five clusters: one in Santander, in Norte de Santander, in Huila, in Tolima, and the second one of Cundinmarca. This is the chief area for the production of coffee. There are also found here plantations of cotton, cacao, and tobacco below the zone of coffee. In late years oil has been found in this area. The Antioquía region includes Antioquía and Caldas. Gold is the chief export from this section but coffee is widely grown in some areas, and the city of Madellín is a growing industrial center. From early colonial times this city was the center of one of Spain's great mining

[5] Colombia, Office of Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Commerce Department Building, Washington, D.C., 17.

areas in the new world. The Cauca Valley region includes Cauca and Valle. This is a singularly rich valley for agriculture and in the flood plains numerous cattle are raised. Sugar and cacao are the chief agricultural products. Cali is the chief commercial center. The Pasto region has just one population cluster, that of Nariño. There is little commerce in this district and practically nothing is exported from it. The last division contains the population clusters of the Caribbean lowlands. These are Bolívar, Magdalena, and Atlántico. This is a commercial center with three rival cities, Cartagena, Santa Marta, and Baranquilla. Santa Marta is also the center of the banana industry of Colombia, and Atlántico has an area in which cotton and sugar are raised.

Summarizing the importance of these clusters in the life of Colombia, it is found that the subsoil resources such as gold, petroleum and emeralds, are found in Antioquía, Norte de Santander, Cundinmarca, and Magdalena, thus making each of these Departments important in international life. Agriculture is carried on in all the districts listed, but the chief exports in the agricultural group are coffee and bananas. Cattle are raised extensively in the Antioquía and Cauca Valleys.[6]

It is evident from the above that Colombia possesses the three basic economies needed for the successful development of any nation, agriculture, grazing and mining. Her chief draw-

[6]Preston E. James, 94-112.

back has been that she has shipped her resources rather than developed her own raw materials. This is chiefly because her philosophy was, during the 19th Century, neither capitalistic nor industrialistic. Her philosophy of production has been that of self-sustenance and mono culture. Her concern has been to make enough, grow enough, and mine enough for home consumption. This philosophy which is now rapidly being abandoned had its roots in the Colonial past and to understand it, some review of the history of that era is necessary.

### b. COLONIAL INFLUENCES

Colombia's history dates back to the year 1508 or 1509 when Alonzo de Ojeda and Diego Nicuesa were given a joint temporary fortress and called it San Sebastián de Uraba.[7] Later the town of Santa Marta was founded in 1529 and Cartagena in 1533. On the whole, however, the period between 1509 and 1536 was for the Spaniards in Colombia a time of constant wandering and constant fighting along the coast. In 1536 the most important of the Spanish explorers of Colombia set forth from Santa Marta to conquer the more highly developed Chibcha Indians dwelling in the plateaus. This was Gonzalo Jiminez de Quesada. It took him nine months to make the journey up the Magdalena River to the plateau of Bogotá. Here he met the Zipa and the Zaque and these tribal leaders were overthrown. Then he proceeded to

---

[7] J.M. Henao and G.Arrubla, History of Colombia, Chapel Hill, 1939, 20.

found the town of Santa Fe de Bogota, August 6, 1538.[8] About the same time in which Quesada was accomplishing this work two other expeditions, after exploring other sections of Colombia, arrived in Bogota, one under the German Welser leader Federmann, coming from Venezuela and the other under Benalcazar or Moyano arriving from Quito, the present Ecuador.

With all the setbacks caused by bloodshed and jealousy, the conquerors, nevertheless, accomplished a great deal in this section of Latin America. They had examined the coast, navigated the important rivers, subdued the tribes, and made settlements in their territories.[9] To these conquered lands came settlers, miners, civilizers and educators.

By 1540, the settlement of Santa Fe de Bogota had taken on some semblance of stability as had also some of the Coast towns, and a town council or magistracy was established in each. This council is best known by the name of cabildo in Colombian history, though it has various names throughout Latin America. This cabildo administered the affairs of the town, having its sanction through the adelantado, or military governor of the province. The governor was the civil and military ruler over the entire province; he commanded the armed forces, and with the assistance of lawyers, he tried civil and criminal cases, which were within his jurisdiction. The significance of this city and

---

[8] J. Fred Rippy, Historical Evolution of Hispanic America, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1938, 53.

[9] Henao and Arrubla, 86.

and provincial arrangement lay in this, that it began a spirit of separation or sectionalism which later proved so detrimental to the Colombian national unity. This entire administrative set-up was rearranged in time and in 1718 the area of Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador became a viceroyalty. But sectionalism continued in that the Venezuelan area and the Ecuadorian and Panamanian areas were practically independent under audencia control or under captains general.

As elsewhere in the Spanish-owned colonies, the growth of the civic order was accomplished by the evolution of a class system. The peninsulares, or Spanish born gentlemen formed the highest class, that class from which all the officials of the higher order were chosen. These, too, came in time to represent Spanish aristocracy. Under these the creoles, the colonial born Spaniards formed a lower but very powerful second class, gradually growing more and more at odds with the first. The men of this class usually represented the wealth and enterprise of the colony. The third class was the mestizo, of mixed Spanish and native blood. The fourth of the earliest classes was the native who was looked upon somewhat as a child by the Spaniards. Later, after negro slaves had been imported to labor, three more classes were added, the mulatto, the zambo, of Indian and Negro descent, and the pure-blooded negro. As time went on intermarriage became common, especially in the places removed from the important centers. This tended to break down any rigid color

barrier until at the present time in Colombia, class is not a matter of color, but of family prestige, wealth, and occupation.

From the earliest days of Spanish occupation in the colonies of Latin America, the Roman Catholic Church concerned itself with the well-being of the natives, and the influence of the missions was of great importance in the development of the Latin American countries. In Colombia, the first priests to go to the north coast of South America were the Dominican Fathers, two of whom were slain, probably in 1514. The second band of six arrived the same year and four of these were slain. Their history is obscure because so little is known of these early years in the evangelization of Colombia.[10] The Jesuits also entered Colombia in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Members of both of these orders were commissioned by the king to carry religion and Spanish culture into New Spain, and were therefore in direct employ of the king. He usually bore the initial expense of the priests' equipment and transportation, paid each a meager stipend and defrayed part of the expenses of rearing mission buildings.[11] The missionaries were, then, the front guard of civilization and were expected to gather the natives, christianize and at least partly civilize them, and then be ready to push on to new frontiers within ten years, leaving the settlements to be incorporated as a parish or Dioc-

[10] Andrés Mesenza, O.P., Bibliografía de la Provincia Dominica de Colombia, Caracas, 1929, introd.

[11] J. Fred Rippy, Historical Evolution of Hispanic America, 85.

esan unit. Steps in the progress of civil as well as ecclesiastical organization can be indicated by mentioning the organization of parishes and Dioceses. The see of Santa María del Darién y Castillo del Oro had been established in 1513. This would include Panama and the far northwestern Colombia. The first Bishop to arrive her was Juan de Quevedo, formerly a member of the Franciscan order, who came to this see on June 30, 1514.[12] The first bishop actually to reside in Colombia was the Dominican Tomás del Toro, who occupied the See of Cartagena in 1535.[13] The history of the second diocese in Colombia, that of Santa Maria, established in 1535 is confused.[14] The Diocese of Quito, now in Ecuador, was created in 1545 and had jurisdiction over much of the southern part of Colombia.[15] The following year, September, 1546, the See of Popayán was established in Colombia.[16] The Archdiocese of Santa Fé de Bogotá was created by Pope Pius IV in 1564 with jurisdiction over all the central area of Colombia not already assigned to the previously mentioned dioceses. How it came to be an archdiocese without having first been named a diocese remains an obscure point in Church History.

---

[12] Sr. M. Kathleen Walsh, "The Origins of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in New Spain", Records of the American Cath. Historical Society, XLII, Philadelphia, 1931, 150.
[13] The Catholic Encyclopedia, New York, III, 384.
[14] Ibid., XIII, 458.
[15] Ibid., XII, 615.
[16] Ibid., XI, 471.

These, then, were the main boundaries of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and they are important. But even more important to the history of Colombia was the question to which they give rise: royal patronage. This caused no end of troubles once Colombia became independent, for presidents assumed the right of appointment until the famed Concordat of 1887. Patronage in the general meaning is commonly regarded as the power to nominate or present a cleric for installation in a vacant benefice. The right of canonical institution to major benefices belongs to the pope; in the case of minor benefices it belongs to a bishop or other prelates.[17] The pope, however, has the right to delegate this power to whom he wishes. By the Bull, Universalis Ecclesiae of Pope Julius II, on July 28, 1508, the pope vested and recognized in the Spanish kings the right of universal patronage over all the benefices of the kingdom with the exception of those reserved to the pope himself.[18] This was known as the Real Patronata de Indias, inasfar as it included the colonies. The question which arose from this Patronata and which became acute after the wars of independence centered around the point of whether this right with its attending privileges was hereditary only to the kings of Spain or whether it passed to whatever person ruled the land. The Colombian presidents insisted on the right of patronage until Rafael Núñez was elected to the presi-

[17] J.Lloyd Mecham, Church and State in Latin America, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1934, 2.
[18] Ibid., 12, 18.

dency in 1880. In 1887 a Concordat was drawn up and signed in December of that year by Cardinal Rampolla, Cardinal Secretary of State and Joaquín Vélez, Envoy Extraordinary from the Republic of Colombia.[19] In its 32 points this Concordat fixed the relationship of Church and State in that republic.

In the development of a nation education is of major importance. The Catholic Church has never forgotten this in her missionary labors in any country. As far as Latin America is concerned, the education of the natives began with the arrival of the first missionaries. As these men penetrated into the territory of the aborigines and there built the mission units, a building or at least a room was set aside for the instruction of the young native boys in the rudiments of learning. As these mission sites became towns Lower Schools or Academies were founded in many of them, and from the very first years of Spanish domination two universities had been founded, one for each viceroyalty then in existence but not in Colombia. These were soon followed by others and as early as 1563 the Dominicans had founded a chair of grammar in Santa Fé de Bogatá, and some years later, one in philosophy.[20] In the same city the Jesuits had the College of San Luis from 1592, which became the Xaverian University shortly after the Dominicans, in 1627, opened the Royal and

[19] Ibid., 157.

[20] E. Taylor Parks, The United States and Colombia, 1765-1934. Durham, N.C., 1935, 95.

Pontifical University of Santo Tomás.[21] The general education in Colombia was in the hands of the Dominicans and the Jesuits and the higher education of the country suffered a distinct setback when the Jesuits were expelled in 1767. The Dominicans carried on valiantly through the rest of the Colonial period and down into the era of the Republic.

### c. ERA OF EMANCIPATION

Colombia at the end of the Colonial times was the center of the Viceroyalty of New Granada which included the present republics of Panama, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Colombia. In this area there were many divisions and many jurisdictions. The Colonial cities had grown, and around them were the population clusters. The back country was unexplored and unexploited. There lived the Indians and there the only signs of civilization were the scattered missions, many of which since the exile of the Jesuits in 1767 were ruins. The educational life was also in decay from 1770 to 1800. The so-called "reforms" in the administration had only brought more confusion, both economic and political. Europe, too, was beset by radical changes. Thirteen of the English colonies had revolted in 1776 and had formed themselves into the United States. This was a blow at the idea of Empires in the Americas. Then in 1789 the French people struck a mighty blow against royalty during the French Revolu-

[21] J. Manuel Espinosa, "Spanish American Universities", The Historical Bulletin, XVIII, St. Louis, 9.

tion. Exalted notions of the greatness of crowned heads and of Emperors and empires faded and soon Spain and her power became objects of disrespect in the Americas.

The Era of Emancipation, begun on the Eastern Seaboard of the United States, came also to Colombia. Out of this arose many new factors of American international relations. The story of how this transpired need not be gone into in detail in this paper, since the relation between Colombia and the outside world were not established during the period when the insurrectionists were not recognized as independent nations. The causes for the revolution of the different cities of the Viceroyalty of New Granada and the forerunners of the emancipation declarations have been given in many textbooks. The story of the liberation of the great area and of the difficulties and the battles of the liberators from 1809 to 1822 need not be gone into in any great detail. In this period, however, the embattled patriots succeeded in contracting other countries for aid and moral support. Hence it may be well to state in very brief outline the outstanding events of the emancipation era.

In 1807, Napoleon's troops moved across Spain to occupy Portugal. The entire court of Portugal then took to the high seas and removed itself to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, where it established itself early in 1808. Napoleon then completed the acts of his Iberian policy by treacherously taking control of Spain. Charles IV was forced to abdicate in favor of his son

Ferdinand VII and the latter was then practically imprisoned at Bayonne. Spain and Portugal then organized their local cabildos and juntas.

The colonial leaders, both those officially appointed as administrators by Spain and the Creoles with their many grudges, were hesitant regarding the exact course which they should take. As elsewhere, in Colombia the Creoles and the Spaniards met in their city halls and formed juntas to deliberate. They protested against the imposition of Joseph Bonaparte as king of Spain, and even sent funds to the Spanish nationalists as aid against Napoleon.[22] Thereafter the towns and provinces of New Granada began to act individually and tempers began to rise.

The stronghold of the Spanish Power on the north coast, Cartagena, formed a junta in May 22, 1810 and soon after deposed the governor. A month later Bogotá had expelled the Viceroy, and in that country of valleys and mountains juntas sprang up everywhere. Popayán waged a long civil war against Pasto, the center of royalism in Colombia.[23] This was on November 11, 1811. The Province of Cundinmarca seems to have been next, taking the step in July of 1813. Shortly, several other Provinces of Colombia had set up their own governments and framed constitutions.[24]

---

[22]Fred J. Rippy, Historical Evolution of Hispanic America, 141-2.
[23]Ibid., 147.
[24]F.A. Kirkpatrick, Latin America, Macmillan and Co., New York, 1939, 57.

It was not until 1812, however, that the revolution proper began to shape itself. Before this, the action of the individual provinces had been ineffectual because of the lack of leadership. Now, Caracas, Venezuela, supplied the leaders. From the beginning of the preliminary revolts Cartagena had welcomed refugees from Venezuela and it was from among these that Colombia finally found her leader. In November 1812, Simón Bolívar entered the city from Venezuela. At the time Cartagena was cut off from the interior and from the Capital by the string of Royalist forts along the Magdalena River. Acting against orders, Bolívar took 400 men and by rapid march succeeded in destroying these forts and opening the way to Bogotá.[25] After this, Bolívar went again to Venezuela and was not back in Cartagena again until 1815. Owing to a series of military defeats he left for Jamaica but was back again within a year. Early in 1817 he left Margarita for the valley of the lower Orinoco, where at Angostura he planned his great revolution.

At his headquarters in Angostura Bolívar planned during 1818 and half of 1819 to invade New Granada by way of "the steaming valley of the Orinoco and the ice-capped mountains immediately to the southeast of Bogotá."[26] Part of his plans, of necessity, were for the organization of a new army. This he accomplished by offering a bounty to every man who enlisted.

---

[25] Ibid., 57.
[26] J.Fred Rippy, Historical Evolution of Hispanic America, 156.

Among the soldiers who took advantage of the offer were some six thousand foreign troops mostly English and Irish, although the English prince regent had forbidden his subjects to participate in wars.[27] These were augmented by two thousand native soldiers. Within eighty days Bolívar and his men had crossed the plains and the mountains, seized Tunja, fought the decisive battle of Boyacá, August 7, 1819, and entered the viceregal Capital.[28] Colombia was thus emancipated by the fall of Bogotá.

From Bogotá, Bolívar once more went to Venezuela, this time to join forces with General Páez. On June 24, 1821, the insurgent army routed the Spaniards on the Plains of Carabobo. This battle insured the emancipation of Venezuela. On August 30, a congress met at Cúcuta near the boundary between Colombia and Venezuela. The congress framed a constitution, and though radically republican and opposed to Bolívar's dictatorial ideas, it offered him the presidency, which he accepted on October 3, 1921. The Capital was fixed at Cúcuta, where Congress held forth. In this way dealings with other countries could now be inaugurated.

From Carabobo Bolívar set out for the south to meet Sucre. From January until March 1822, he and his men campaigned in extremely difficult country, but the successful battle of Pichincha on the 25th of May, 1822 ended the campaign and added Quito,

---

[27]A. Curtis Wilgus, The Development of Hispanic America, Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. New York, 1941, 265.

[28]J. Fred Rippy, Historical Evolution of Hispanic America, 157.

both city and Province to the already liberated Colombia and Venezuela, now formed into the Republic of Gran Colombia.[29]

With the beginnings of a stable government in the hands of Santander the Vice-President, Bolívar felt he could leave and proceed to the liberation of the two Perus. What foreign affairs were carried on during this time will be discussed later. The Liberator arrived at Guayaquil on July 11, 1822. He took that city and by dint of hard fighting in the next two years finally won the battle of Ayacucho on December 9, 1824.[30] This battle formally freed South America from the Spanish control. Bolívar, however, remained in Peru until in 1826 at which time he felt his control was slipping in Gran Colombia and left Lima for the north. By dint of severe control he was able to keep the Republic together for two more years. Then finding his efforts futile he resigned on May 1, 1830. That same year, Venezuela, under the leadership of General José Antonio Páez broke from the Union and in the following year Quito and Guayaquil joined under the name of the Republic of Ecuador. This left the Republic of Colombia, as it then became known, and as it now stands.

### d. THE REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA

More troubles followed in Colombia from the retirement of Bolívar until the end of the century. The new Republic was in

---

[29] F. A. Kirkpatrick, Latin America, 69.
[30] A. Curtis Wilgus, The Development of Hispanic America, 280.

dire condition. Rival generals were fighting among themselves for the control of the nation. The long fight for independence had bled the country and the new republic was facing bankruptcy. Education was at a standstill and until the end of the century it was to remain in a chaotic state. Incompetence and administrative inefficiency as well as implacable rivalry among the politicians constituted another drain upon the unity and economic resources of Colombia in the last half of the Nineteenth Century. It is easy to understand, then, why with such conditions existing, Colombia was forced through a series of governmental reorganizations that were to last almost to the turn of the century.

There will be little need to list the presidents and dictators during this era of turmoil and chaos, nor to analyze the succeeding constitutions, until the emergence of a somewhat stable form of republican government. In 1880 Colombia took a long stride toward establishing this reign of peace with the accession of Rafael Nuñez to the presidency. He was chief executive for twelve years and actually dominated the country for two years more. Colombia as it is today began to emerge at this time, and the Constitution proclaimed in 1886 endures to the present. Education was encouraged and peace was restored to the Church by the Concordat of 1887, mentioned before.[31] President

[31]David R. Moore, A History of Latin America, Prentice Hall Inc., N.Y., 1938, 368.

Nuñez began to fail physically before the end of his presidency and the slackening of reins consequent upon this was felt even before his death in 1894. This year marks the beginning of the worst civil war in the history of Colombia, the last three years of which (1899-1903) are hard to describe. The Liberals were finally defeated but the "years of conflict coincided with the rule of one of Colombia's most fatal caudillos, José Manuel Marroquín. It was also during his rule that the Panama revolt of 1903 occurred.[32]

With the accession of General Rafael Reyes in 1903 Colombia began her age of industrialism and growth. This era corresponded to one of closer relationship with the United States. This relationship may be divided for more ease in studying the situation, into three chapters: diplomatic relations, economic relations and cultural relations. While the first chapter will deal with the Federal Governments only, the others will include relations with Departments and Municipalities, groups and individuals.

---

[32] Charles E. Chapman, Republican Hispanic America, New York, 1937, 286.

## CHAPTER II

## DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

It is not the purpose of this paper to consider in any great length the diplomatic or economic relations between the United States and Colombia during the Nineteenth Century. Still, mention must be made of some of the outstanding international events so that a sufficient background is presented.

General Simón Bolívar after several defeats at the hands of the Spanish troops from December, 1817 to March, 1818, called his famed Congress to establish a government for Colombia and Venezuela. On February 15, 1819, this Congress was officially opened with an address by the Liberator. He submitted a constitution which was adopted three days later,[1] with modifications. On December 17, 1819, there was established a Republic comprising the "Captaincy of Venezuela, the Kingdom of Santa Fé, and the Presidency of Quito, with the city of Rosario de Cúcuta as the Capital.[2] The Republic thus became equipped to deal diplomatically with the other nations.

Simón Bolívar was an ardent advocate of American solidarity, more correctly, Ibero-American solidarity. He worked for a con-

[1] C. Parra-Pérez, Bolívar, A Contribution to the Study of His Political Ideas, Translated by N.A.N.Clevan, Paris, 1928, 47.
[2] Ibid., 59.

federation of nations which as he said "has a single origin, a single tongue, the same customs, and the same religion".[3] From it can be understood that he had in mind a federation of nations below the Rio Grande. However, while his plan excluded the United States, it was fully in accord with the ideas of our nation, in that one of its main purposes was to keep the European out of the Western Hemisphere.

Concerning direct diplomatic relations between the United States and the Liberator the first was in 1810, when the junta of Caracas under his leadership sent a mission to Washington with proposals for the independence of the Hispano-Americans. Throughout the period of emancipation the United States was a strong moral factor, and after the Battle of Carabobo the House of Representatives voted to recognize the independence of New Granada. This recognition was signed on March 28, 1822.[4] On the part of Bolivar, it seems that he feared that the United States would make a prepondering place for itself in the Americas, and for this reason he tended to use the influence of Great Britain against this possibility. This attitude can be seen also at the time he was carrying on preliminaries to the Pan-American Congress to be held in Panama in June, 1826. It was the Vice-President, Santander, and not Bolivar who sent the invitation to Washington to attend the Conference.

---

[3] Ibid., 80.
[4] Ibid., 104.

After the passing of Bolívar, Colombia, as has been stated, was in a turmoil and therefore in a poor position to carry on diplomatic relations with foreign countries. Nevertheless, there were trade relations established with the United States during this time. This was in 1832.

Concerning negotiations relative to a trans-Isthmian waterway, the Senate of the United States in 1835 favored negotiations with New Granada concerning it. In consequence President Jackson sent Charles Biddle to investigate all possible routes. Instead of following directions, Biddle went directly to Bogotá where in June, 1836 "he obtained for himself and a number of associates a concession to establish a land-and-water communication across the Isthmus."[5] The death of the man saved him from the consequences of this act.

Nothing more was done concerning a canal until June, 1845 when Benjamin Bidlack was sent to Bogotá to oppose any other nation who might attempt to gain concessions for the building of a canal. Through the concerted efforts of Bidlack and the Foreign Minister of New Granada, Manuel María Mallarino a treaty was drawn up and signed by Bogotá in December 1846. The thirty-fifth article of this treaty is doubtless the mist important in this connection, since it contains the following significant statements:

---

[5]Dwight Carroll Miner, The Fight for the Panama Route, Colombia U. Press, New York, 1940, 12.

> The government of New Granada guarantees to the government of the Unites States that the right of way or transit across the isthmus of Panama upon any modes of communication that now exist, or that may hereafter be constructed, shall be open and free to the government and citizens of the United States and for the transportation of any article of produce, manufactures, or merchandise, of lawful commerce belonging to the citizens of the United States, upon the same terms as shall be enjoyed by the Granadine citizens.
> (2) The United States guarantee, positively and efficaciously, to New Granada, by the present stipulation, the perfect neutrality of the before-mentioned isthmus, with a view that free transit from the one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed in any future time while this treaty exists.
> (3) The United States also guarantee, in the same manner the right of sovereignty, and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territory.[6]

This treaty did not, at least in specific terms, provide for a canal. In 1850, however, the two nations most interested in the canal idea, the United States and Great Britain, signed the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. This treaty reaffirmed the sovereignty of New Granada and at the same time bound the contracting parties to place the canal under joint control and pledged them not to acquire territory in the region.[7] This treaty remained in force until 1901, when by the Hay-Paunceforte Treaty, Great Britain abrogated the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, only insisting

---

[6]John H. Latané, "The Treaty Relations of the United States and Colombia", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, XXII, Philadelphia, Pa., 115.
[7]J. Fred Rippy, Historical Evolution of Hispanic America, 399.

that the proposed canal would be open on equal terms to all nations.[8]

Meantime, in 1878, the Colombian Government granted to Bonaparte Wyse, a Frenchman, a concession to construct a canal. When in 1889 the French Company stopped work on the canal, the United States purchased the canal concession from the company, but no right of political control. In view of this, it was necessary to obtain the consent of the Colombian Government. The conversations relative to this are known as the Hay-Herran Convention; the agreement was to grant to the United States, after ratification by the Colombian Government, a lease to a strip of land across the Isthmus. In return the United States was to make an adequate money payment. In august, 1903, the Colombian Senate rejected the Treaty, but evidently did not think that this closed the matter.[9]

The story of the Panama revolt has been thoroughly studied by many historians. One of the latest books on the subject was written by Dwight Carroll Miner, The Fight for the Panama Route, in 1940, and has an extensive bibliography. Consequently it is unnecessary to go into detail concerning the affair. Briefly, the events are as follows. On November 3, 1903, an insurrection broke out in Panama against Colombia. The United States claimed the right of intervention by virtue of

---

[8]F. A. Kirkpatrick, Latin America, 267.
[9]Ibid., 266.

the Treaty of 1848; therefore, the United States marines prevented the Colombian soldiers from using the railroad to cross the Isthmus from Panama to Colon. Because of this, Colombia was crippled in her attempt to quell the insurrection. When then, within three days, the United States recognized the independence of Panama and within two weeks had made a Treaty by which it received from the new Republic a strip of land ten miles wide, feeling ran high in Colombia and resentment against the United States was strong against our nation. Since the South American Republic was too weak to war against the "Colossus of the North", she had no outlet for this resentment which among the older leaders, at least, is still apparent today. As late as September, 1935, Luis Alfredo Otero, writing in the Boletín de Historia y Antiguedades, refers to the event as the inglorious usurpation of Panama, and later in the same article speaks of it as Colombia's dolorous calvary of affronts and humiliations.[10] This then, is the state of affairs between Colombia and the United States at the end of the year 1903.

At the time of the Panama incident, described above, Colombia's internal affairs were just beginning to emerge from an era of chaos. Late in 1903 Rafael Reyes had been elected president by the Conservative Party. He early recognized the necessity of making some sort of agreement conducive to friendly relations between his country and the United States. Minister

[10]Luis Alfredo Otero, Boletin de História y Antiguedades, Bogotá, XXII, (September, 1935,) 191.

Russel, who was in Bogotá at the time, had something of the same idea, and he felt convinced that friendly relations could be restored if United States and Colombia could agree to a Treaty.[11] It was well understood at the time that any agreement which the United States would frame, would have to be tripartite. Our country would not be willing to settle upon any agreement without the signature of Panama. Another point was that if there was to be any thought of patching up the difference, the initial step must be taken by Colombia. President Rafael Reyes realized all of this but was determined to do his best. He accordingly dispatched Diego Mendoza Pérez to Washington and instructed him concerning the pending question. At the same time he was careful to assure his own Congress that arrangements entirely in harmony with national honor and dignity were possible. Evidently Pérez was the wrong man to have sent on that particular mission, for in a note to Secretary Root he expressed in unmistakable words his feeling toward the United States. These were anything but friendly ones. Root replied, denying any official complicity in the revolution, and rejecting any suggestion of arbitration.[12] After this, a definite break seemed inevitable, but President Reyes was bent upon peace at any cost and the entire affair was allowed to die down temporarily. Meantime, Minister John Barrett was sent to Bogotá. By 1906 he sensed a

[11] E. Taylor Parks, The United States and Colombia, 1765-1934, Durham, N.C., 1935, 429.
[12] Ibid., 430.

gradual lessening of the intense hostility to our country, and he reported that the press was especially friendly toward the United States, though he failed to state which controlled press it was that was friendly. Early this same year Reyes must have shared the feelings of Mr. Barrett, for he resolved to attempt once more to come to some agreement concerning Panama. It happened that this was the same year in which the Pan-American Congress was to be held at Rio de Janeiro.

> Reyes therefore instructed Valencia, delegate to the Conference at Rio, to confer with Root on common matters; and requested a public announcement from Washington of the re-opening of negotiations and the early appointment of Cortes as Minister. He likewise suggested the advisability of Root's visiting Colombia, at least Cartagena, and began deliberate propaganda to develop a friendly sentiment and to convince Colombians of the possibility of arbitration and indemnity.[13]

It was evident, than, that Reyes would suggest some agreement. He did. Briefly it was this: a new treaty was to replace the one of 1846 in substance, but would include practically the same privileges concerning the Canal that were enjoyed by Panama. Colombia was to recognize the independence of Panama and her assumptions of a proportionate share of the national debt. Enrique Cortes, working under these instructions, soon had negotiations under way at Washington, but from 1906 to 1909 there was nothing done concerning the treaty at Washington. In February 1909, the

[13] Ibid., 433.

United States signed the treaty and Minister Thomas Dawson was dispatched to Bogotá with the treaty. The Colombian Congress was scheduled to meet on February 22nd, therefore Mr. Dawson had a few weeks in which to acquaint himself with the general attitude of the public toward the proposed treaty. He found that the press was still praising the treaty, primed doubtless by the President. However, he also recognized that the papers did not sound the true feelings of the Colombian people. Opposition, and stiff opposition, was coming from two sources: the Liberals and the students. Some of these really objected to the points of the treaty, others were still bitter toward the United States and therefore would balk any attempt at agreement. A great many in the group, however, simply used opposition as effective means of overthrowing the Reyes dictatorship.[14] When Congress met toward the end of that month feelings were so wrought up that there was imminent danger of another civil strife. In face of this, even the courage of Reyes failed, for he felt that it was dangerous to attempt the ratification of the treaty. Congress was therefore dissolved with the understanding that a new one would meet on July 20, 1909. Before it met, however, an unbloody revolution had taken place. When the treaties were published, the Colombian administration which had asked to have it accepted was forced to resign; and the Colombian ambassador, who had signed them, was forced to leave the country persecuted

[14] Ibid., 435.

by an indignant people. Colombia was not to be pacified by the paltry sum of $2,500,000, which the United States had offered as early as 1909.[15]

It seems that it was the payment of the "paltry sum" that alone stung them. They considered this an insult on the part of the United States and resented it accordingly. There is practically no mention of the other term of the treaty which called for the recognition by Colombia of the independence of Panama. Carlos E. Restrepo, who became president at the popular election of 1910, was another Conservative leader, but he reorganized the Colombian government, and through an era of peace and prosperity and liberal reforms, paved the way for the return of the old policy of arbitration of the Panama question.[16]

In the meantime the United States had had a change in presidents, although the Republican Party was still in control.[17] This meant that there could be no thought of inserting in any treaty a clause of sincere regret, which by this time the Colombians were demanding. The President was nevertheless interested in bringing about more amicable relations with the other Republic. It seemed, to the Colombians, and for that matter to all thinking people, that he chose a strange way of effecting this. It was in reality adding insult to injury. Early in 1913 our government submitted this proposal to Bogotá;

---

[15]Editorial, Boletín de Historia y Antiguedades, 500.
[16]Parks, 437.
[17]Earl Harding, "In Justice to Colombia," World's Work, XXVI, New York, 1913, 676.

Colombia was to recognize the independence of Panama, grant certain coaling stations in San Andrés to the United States government, and cede to this government the option of building another canal along the Atrato route. In return for this, the United States would pay Colombia $10,000,000, and grant her special privileges in reference to the Panama Canal. The question of damages was to be submitted to arbitration with the possibility of Colombia's receiving an additional $49,000,000. This proposal, fair in itself, ended with a threat to the effect that, if Colombia did not see fit to sign this treaty, the Atrato district might go in the same way as did Panama. Colombia rejected this offer at once. As may be expected, resentment against the United States was again re-kindled in Colombia. As far as that Republic was concerned, these repeated parleys had resulted in crystalizing Colombia's ideas on the question. She was now insisting upon the insertion of a clause of apology, and the payment of a sum of $50,000,000. As was said above, the Republican Party was still in power and the Roosevelt faction was still strong within it. When, however, in 1914, the Democratic President Wilson was elected and the House of Representatives had a Democratic majority, Bogotá felt rightly sure that the endless parleys might be about to end. Neither Wilson nor his Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan, felt any scruples in inserting the sincere regret clause; so they set about preparing the final treaty. Besides the main clause, it ceded to Colombia

special favors in the use of the Panama Canal, and the United States promised to pay the sum of $25,000,000. Colombia, in turn, was to recognize the independence of Panama. This time it was Bogotá that was first to ratify the treaty, amid great rejoicings of the people. In our own country the treaty was ratified in the House, but due to a refractory Republican element in the Senate, and to the fact that Roosevelt was still popular among them, the Senate failed to ratify.[18] In the Senate the Treaty was sent to the Committee on Foreign Relations and remained buried there, for in 1916 it had not yet been reported out of the committee. Then the United States entered the World War I, and everything else was driven from the minds of the administration. Minister Betancourt and a group vitally interested in the treaty, tried in vain to keep the public interest centered upon it. His patience, however, was finally exhausted and he threatened the withdrawal of Colombia from the Pan-American Union. In December, 1915, he was assured that the treaty would be up for ratification in a short time. At the same time, Thaddeus A. Thomson, Minister of the United States in Bogotá, was hard put for a convincing argument to prove the sincerity of his country.[19] When finally the Committee on Foreign Relations reported it out of their hands it was with the recommendation to reduce the sum to be paid to $15,000,000, and

[18] The Congressional Record, LXI-I, Government Printing Office, 19, 302.
[19] Parks, 447.

to make the clause an expression of mutual regret. Colombia, as would be expected, protested, and the signing was again postponed. New attacks appeared in the press, and there was pressure from some groups for the withdrawal of Colombian ratification on the grounds that the United States was making her appear ridiculous in the eyes of the world.[20]

Between 1916 and 1919 something had occurred which materially changed the attitude of the majority in and out of the Senate toward the treaty and toward Colombia in general. Vast fields of oil were being discovered in several of the Departments of that Republic. Since "Big Business" was always vitally interested in petroleum it was now anxious for concessions in the new fields. As a result, for awhile, there was a tendency on the part of the United States to make the ratification of the treaty dependent upon the celebration of contracts between the Colombian government and certain citizens of the States. The South American Republic made it clear immediately that the United States would first have to fulfill her obligations to Colombia. Then it would be possible for Colombia to promise that the fulfillment would open the door to many friendly acts.[20] Since to the Americans, meaning capitalists of the United States, it was imperative now to obtain a share in the concessions, pressure was brought to bear upon the

---

[20] Ibid., 447.

[21] Louis Martin Sears, A History of American Foreign Relations, New York, 1927, 566.

Senate and the treaty was finally ratified on April 4, 1921. Mr. Rippy says: "Although honor and idealism were strong motives among the majority, it appears that oil was the decisive factor in winning over the recalcitrant minority who has opposed the treaty for years."[22]

As can be seen, Colombia and the United States had no direct diplomatic relations other than those in connection with the Panama question from 1903-1922. For sixteen years the countries see-sawed back and forth in order to come to some conclusion that would be satisfactory to both nations. When that was finally accomplished, United States began a new diplomatic era as far as Colombia was concerned.

After this final, satisfactory settlement of the Panama question, the diplomatic relations between the two Republics have an economic background. In the one case it was the question of oil concessions which had diplomatic repercussions, and therefore belongs in this chapter rather than in the following chapter.

From 1913 the interest of the United States in Colombia's petroleum had developed rapidly. In other nations, as especially in those whose talent for business and industry are undeveloped, there has frequently appeared a disposition carefully to guard their hydrocarbons against a too rapid and profitable ex-

---

[22]J. F. Rippy, Capitalists and Colombia, 115.

ploitation in the interest of foreign organizations.[23] Colombia was such a nation, and to make matters a bit more difficult, legislation regarding the subsoil had not been consistent.

> During the Spanish regime the principle was maintained that the subsoil belonged to the Crown, regardless of the ownership of the surface....But in 1858 the opposite principle of private ownership of many of the subsoil treasures including hydrocarbons, was adopted. During the next few years these treasures presumably passed into private possession of the owners of the surface lands.[24]

During this time, however, there was little or no capital being invested outside the United States because we were at the same time expanding westward and building railroads. In 1873, Colombia enacted the old principle, but petroleum was not specifically mentioned until 1903. A new legislation in 1913 gave "the first indication of a determination to exercise more rigid control over all natural resources." Senor Uribe was the chief engineer in getting this law through the Colombian Congress. A man of singular insight, he even then realized that the nations which controlled petroleum could control maritime commerce, and if export and import revenues were controlled by outsiders the government, depending upon these for its income, could be controlled. In a monograph, he says concerning this law:

> Concerning the latter (the adjudication of hydrocarbon deposits) I had the honor of presenting the project which was read into

[23] J. Fred Rippy, "The United States and Colombian Oil," Foreign Policy Association Information, V, New York, 19.
[24] Ibid., 19

> the Law 65 of this year, which Article 112 of the Fiscal Code, reserves for the Nation the petroleum deposits found in unclaimed territory or in those which for any reason pertain to it, and I made the resolution, furthermore, that while it would not be expedient to make a law regulating the renouncement and adjudication of hydrocarbons in general, concessions of these should be made on a temporary basis in virtue of contracts approved by Congress.[25]

In the light of this statement it is easy to understand why the petroleum question could become a diplomatic one as well as economic, for it practically involved the making of treaties. This happened in 1928.

In 1918 the De Barco Concession, which was a Colombian Concession, was transferred to the Carib Syndicate. This transfer had the full consent of the Colombian Government. It was, however, afterward sold to the Gulf Oil Company, a subsidiary to the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. In February 1926, the Concession was declared null and void. This was done by the president, Pedro Nel Ospina, in view of the fact that it was in the nature of a private rather than an official contract. The concessionaries immediately petitioned a hearing, but nothing had been accomplished by August 1926, when the Ospina administration expired. Miguel Abadía Méndez followed Nel Ospina as President and it is a well-known fact that neither he nor his cabinet could be moved with anything like haste. The attorneys of the Gulf Company finally asked the aid of the United

[25]Antonio José Uribe, Colombia y los Estados Unidos, Bogota, 1931.

States Government. There was still a wait of two years, until on January 13, 1928, Samuel H. Piles, minister of the United States at Bogotá complained to the Colombian Government and asked for a speedy decision. Carlos Uribe, the Colombian Minister of Foreign Affairs was given the correspondence. He in turn asked Mr. Piles if the Concession referred to was that which belonged to the Compañía Colombiana de Petróleos. When told that it was, he expressed his surprise that the United States would attempt to interfere in a situation which dealt with juridical relations between Colombia and a national entity.[26] This, he implied, belonged exclusively to the courts of the country. Mr. Piles defended his action on the ground that about 95 per cent of the stock of the Compañía belonged to citizens of the United States, the Gulf Oil Company. He added that, according to international law he was permitted to intercede in behalf of the citizens of the country which he represented. Because of the stand which he took, Mr. Piles was confronted with a great deal of adverse public opinion not only in Colombia but also in other sections of Latin America, particularly in Argentina. It was felt that, if the company had a case to present, it should be presented to the Colombian Supreme Court and that therefore the United States had no right to intervene. When this attitude became known in the United States, Secretary of State, Frank B. Kellogg, gave the information to the American Press which

[26]J. Fred Rippy, The United States and Colombian Oil, 20.

stated emphatically that he had never asked the Colombian Government to reconsider the cancellation of the concession, but simply that the Company would be given time in which to present their claim, since it was the Colombian Government who had shifted their relations for cancellation of this same claim after the Company had submitted its last testimonial.

At this point Colombia and the United States again seemed to be at hopeless odds. Happily, however, Minister Piles left Bogotá late in the year 1928. His successor, Jefferson Caffrey arrived in Bogotá late in November and on December 4 the press reported that the De Barco concession was again under debate.[27] In the meantime some agreement was made with the Gulf Oil Company. The question of the legality of the De Barco Concession cancellation is still pending in the Colombian Courts, but in the meantime numbers of companies from the States are operating in Colombia under mutually agreeable conditions.

The other diplomatic relations between the two Republics have been entirely amicable ones. In 1935, a number of nations among them the United States and Colombia "condemned war as an instrument of international policy and adopted obligatory arbitration as the means for settlement of international differences of a juridical character between or among the contracting parties."[28] There was some discussion concerning this treaty

---

[27] Ibid., 34.

[28] Samuel F. Bemis, A Diplomatic History of the United States, New York, 1936, 767.

especially on the part of the delegates from Colombia. They feared that it would include old disputes and treaties which were made before 1935. When it was finally agreed that these would not be included in the obligation to arbitrate, Colombia signed on January 1, 1936.

Included in the juridical questions were:

(a) The interpretation of a treaty:

(b) Any question of international law:

(c) The existence of any fact which, if established would constitute a breach of international obligation.

The following controversies were excepted from this treaty:

(a) Those which are within the domestic jurisdiction of any of the parties to the dispute and are not controlled by international law; and,

(b) Those which affect the interests or refer to the action of a State not a Party to this treaty.

At about the same time the United States and Colombia were among the signees of the above treaty, they were engaged in framing another two-party treaty. Relations between the two nations had been very cordial. Dr. Alfonso López, in a visit to Washington shortly before he was inaugurated as president in 1934 said:

> The harmony between our democracies and the United States is now unmarred by the slightest lack of confidence. The policy of the 'good neighbor' pursued loyally and unswervingly by the present government of the United States has in 2 year's time fundamentally changed the atmosphere of anxiety and discordance in which our

> international relations were carried on, threatened for many years by the danger of intervention or the curtailment of the national sovereignty of some of the members of the Pan American Union.[29]

It was evident then, that at this time the attitude of each Republic was a propitious one for framing a trade agreement. This was done and the United States signed the Treaty on September 13, 1935, to go into effect on May 20, 1936. The chief object of the Treaty was the reduction in duty or bindings of existing tariff rates. It affected more than 150 classifications and the reductions ranged from sixteen to ninety per cent of the old rates. More than this, the government of each country agreed not to levy any new tax on a commodity from the other country unless there is a tax levied on the same product within its own territory. Lastly provision was made for the "reciprocal and most-favored nation treatment". The customs concessions were secured by the addition of a promise that they will not be changed by means of quantitive restrictions.[30] To Colombia this means security in particular for her coffee markets and that is important as will be seen when the growth of coffee as an export is discussed in a later chapter. This Treaty finally, is composed of thirteen articles, and an appendix which contains the long list of articles affected. Article XIII of the Treaty contains a clearly stated reason for the pact:

---

[29]Dr. Alfonso López, "Address by Dr. López", Bulletin of the Pan-American Union, LXVIII, 1934, 544.

[30]Kathryn Wylie, "Colombia", The Agricultural Bulletin, 138-139.

> The government of the Republics of Colombia and the United States of America declares that the object of this pact is to grant mutual and reciprocal concessions and advantages in order to intensify the commercial relations between the two countries; and that in accordance with the spirit and purpose will be fulfilled and interpreted all and each one of the arrangements here contained.[31]

This spirit of mutual agreement begun under President López was intensified under President Eduardo Santos. When this president was inaugurated three United States army bombers carried a message of congratulation from President Roosevelt and returned to the United States with equally cordial messages from President Santos to President Roosevelt.

When in 1938, conditions in Europe were becoming acute, the United States and Colombia signed an agreement providing for a naval aviation mission to go to Colombia from the United States to cooperate with the ministry of war.[32] In July of 1939 Colombia under President Santos, promised to assist the United States in combating any menace to the Panama Canal and granted at the same time, permission to the United States to build an air base at Urrao as part of the defense of the Panama Canal.[33]

In viewing these diplomatic relations between the United States and Colombia, it seems evident that, although there was a period in the first two decades of this century when relations

---

[31]Eduardo Guzmán Esponda, Tradatos y convenios de Colombia, 1919-1938, Bogota, 1939, 891.
[32]A. Curtis Wilgus, Development of Hispanic America, 512.
[33]Ibid., 513.

between these Republics were strained, in the past twenty years there has been a steady growth in understanding. Wartime conditions have further strengthened this mutual good neighborliness, and many of the projects begun in this time of stress will doubtless carry on through the years of peace.

## CHAPTER III

## ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Considering the industrial evolution of Latin America as a whole, and Colombia in particular, we can divide the years into three distinct phases: (1) the stage of preliminary development in which the industrial and business systems of Colombia were handicapped by political upheavals and financial difficulties; (2) the period of transition from 1880 until the outbreak of the World War I which was characterized by more industrial development and trade with European nations; (3) the period of application of scientific methods to industry, especially the extractive industries.[1] During the first phase of this development the economic relations of the United States and Colombia were comparatively simple. It is true that in 1825 the United States made a treaty of commerce with Colombia in which each nation promised the other to regard it as a most favored nation, and promised that the merchants would be placed on the same footing as citizens of the most favored nations.[2] However, as has been said, political upheavals and financial difficulties did much

---

[1] Max Winkler, Investments of the United States Capital in Latin America, Boston, 1929, 24.

[2] Mss. "The Treaty of 1825", Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

to make this treaty little more than a piece of paper. The trade with Colombia assumed a brief upward trend after the Treaty of 1846, so that it reached the sum of $1,145,173 in 1850.[3] This was but a brief spurt, however, until about the time of the first World War. It is interesting to note two things about the time when trade relationships between the United States and Colombia began to assume promising figures. The first is that trades relationship of the two countries was still strained. The second, that "Colombian trade turned toward the United States at a time when the majority of other Latin-American markets were closely dependent on those of Europe....It appears that in Colombia, native business houses attained a greater relative importance, owing to the fact that fewer foreign mercantile concerns established themselves in the country than was the case elsewhere and these native concerns naturally sought a market where goods (especially coffee) could be disposed of and the proceeds collected with the least possible delay.[4] Coffee is the chief export both as to quantity and importance; in 1938 it made up 55 per cent of Colombia's exports. Moreover, the direct benefits to Colombians from the export of coffee is greatest, since to a great extent the other chief products are in the hands of foreign companies.[5] The

---

[3] Parks, 176.
[4] Charles A. McQueen, "Colombian Public Finance", Trade Promotion Series, Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C. 1926, 4.
[5] Preston, E. James, 117.

other products are petroleum, bananas, and gold, two of which will be discussed in the second part of the chapter on economic relations in this paper.

Coffee was first exported from Colombia in 1835, when 2,592 bags left the country. By the middle of the nineteenth century both production and export had increased considerably and by 1880 coffee had become the principal article of foreign trade.[6] Though the actual date of the appearance of Colombian coffee on the markets of United States may be obscure, it is an undisputed fact that in the past twenty-five years the United States has been Colombia's largest market for coffee, for it has taken from seventy to ninety per cent of the crop in the course of those years. This means that Colombia was able to buy, in proportion, from the United States, since coffee affects about eighty per cent of the population of the country.[7]

The following tables give one an idea of the relationship between the amount of coffee the United States accepted from Colombia and the amount of United States exports into Colombia.

Coffee Trade to the United States[8]

| Date | 1914 | 1918 | 1929 | 1935 | 1938 | 1940 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Percent of Coffee | 88.00 | 89.00 | 92.4 | 75.8 | 78.9 | 93.6 |

[6]Wylie, 62.
[7]Winkler, 106.
[8]Compiled from figures in the three volumes of Latin-American Trade with the United States, Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

United States Exports to Colombia

| Date | 1914 | 1918 | 1929 | 1935 | 1938 | 1940 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Amount | 5,784,000 | 10,546,000 | 48,983,000 | 22,767,000 | 39,611,000 | 703,372,000 |

The drop in both charts between 1929 and 1938 is explained by the fact that the United States had during those years faced the collapse of the Wall Street Market on October 29, 1929, and the consequent years of depression and unemployment. The exceptionally high figures of 1940 can be explained by the fact that in that year the War in Europe had forced the markets of the Western Hemisphere to shift because of the hazards of shipping to Europe.

Coffee, petroleum and bananas have been mentioned as Colombia's chief items of export. Other items, while not so important as the three mentioned, still rank high on the exporting list of Colombia; these are gold, platinum, salt and emeralds. Colombia was well known for its gold mines as far back as the Spanish colonial days and as late as 1929 the annual export of gold to the United States had a value of nearly $2,000,000.[9] This amount has decreased somewhat in the last years because gold is now used in Colombia itself for coinage and as a gold reserve. The production of platinum in Colombia has been remarkable. The annual output now ranks this country second to Russia, and the United States imports platinum from Colombia to

[9] Winkler, 107.

the value of $4,397,833.[10]

The salt mines of Zipaquira are another of Colombia's sources of wealth. This deposit is found about thirty miles north of Bogota and therefore almost nine thousand feet above sea level.[11] Since 1931 the deposits have been under the control of the Bank of the Republic. The contract signed on December 12, 1931, provided that of the net profits to be derived from the operation of the mines 98 per cent were to go to the Government and 2 per cent to the Bank. In return the Bank of the Republic advanced 15,500,000 pesos to the government.[12] As a result of this agreement the salt mines have been producing more abundantly than ever. This may be accounted for by the fact that the Bank has sent in expert managers to the mines and has appreciably bettered the housing and sanitary conditions of the workmen and their families.

An intermittent source of revenue to the Republic of Colombia is her emerald mines. The most consequential emerald mines of the world, the Muzo and the Chivor are located in the high ranges of Colombia.[13] All emeralds are the property of the government, but due either to the desire to maintain a high price for them or because of the loss by theft, the Colombian Government works the mines only intermittently.

[10] Ibid., 107.
[11] Julio Caro, "The Salt Mines of Colombia", Bulletin of the Pan American Union, LXXII (1938), 279-280.
[12] Guillermo A. Seiro, "Financial Measures taken in Colombia to meet the Economic Crisis", Ibid., LXVI, 811.
[13] E.T. Stotesbury, "The Emerald", Fortune, IV,(1931), 64.

Items of trade to Colombia from the United States fall under both visible and invisible items. The visible items are for the most part machinery and factory and mill necessities, or railroad materials. The average Colombian has little need and less desire for most of the items the citizens of the United States deem indispensable. The kitchen utensils, furniture, radios and automobiles find no sale outside the urban centers of Colombia. The merchants from the United States have come to realize that articles to be sold to the majority of the Colombians must be both cheap and serviceable. But while visible items of trade may reach as high as forty million dollars, the invisible are treble that amount. Chief among these are freight rates (steamer), insurance premiums, tourist expenses, interest on bonds and principal on bonds matured. Colombia and the United States have many such relationships, to which the average citizen pays but little heed. This is especially true of the last two items mentioned, interest and principal on bonds. As early as 1922, the Colombian government obtained a five-year loan of $5,000,000 in the United States. Besides this, and apart from the annual treaty payments since 1922, there has been a decided movement of American capital to Colombia. Bond issues in the United States have been classified under seven headings, the last being that of Oil Companies treated elsewhere in this paper. They are: loans to the Central Government at Bogotá, loans to Departments, to Municipalities, to the Agricultural Mortgage Banks, to Mining and Oil Companies.

In 1923, the City of Medellín obtained a loan of $3,000,000, mostly refunding. In accordance with a Colombian law, the funds were used for the improvement of municipally owned utilities. A year later an oil company issued bonds for the constructing of a pipe-line. The same year Bogotá floated bonds to the amount of $6,000,000, the proceeds of which went into the construction of public works.[14] In 1925, the Department of Antioquia borrowed $3,000,000 and in 1926 $9,000,000 more, chiefly for railroad construction. In 1925 the city of Barranquilla arranged for a loan of several million dollars from the United States for municipal improvements. The Department of El Valle and the new State Land Mortgage Bank borrowed the sum of $9,500,000 in 1926.[15] On March 19, 1926 the National Committee on Loans and the Minister of the Treasury and Public Credit agreed with a New York Bank for the placing of a loan of 35,000,000 pesos for public works.[16]

In 1930 the National City Bank of New York established three branch houses in Colombia, the main branch in the Capital, Bogotá, and the other two at Medellín and Cali.[17] Finally in September, 1940, the United States amended the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Bill thus making available to the Export-Import Bank at Washington, funds not to exceed $5,000,000 out-

[14] Charles A. McQueen, 5.
[15] Charles A. McQueen," Colombian Public Finance", Department of Commerce, Trade Promotion Series, Washington, D.C.,1926, 13.
[16] Bulletin of the Pan American Union, 62, 731.
[17] Bulletin of the Pan American Union, 75, 1065.

standing at any time. These funds were to be used to assist in the development of the recources, the stabilization of the economics and the orderly marketing of the products of the Western Hemisphere. Colombia, through the Banca de la Republica took advantage of this fund by borrowing, the same year,$10,000,000, to be used for agricultural and manufactured products.[18]

As a summary, the following chart gives the distribution of investments and securities in Colombia for a period of eight years. The figures taken are those for 1920 to 1928.

Loans to

| | |
|---|---|
| Central Government | $75,345,307 |
| Agricultural Mortgage | $16,000,000 |
| Departments | $69,770,200 |
| Municipalities | $30,335,000 |
| Private Banks | $21,904,000 |
| Mining Companies | $ 1,500,000 |
| Oil Companies | $20,846,000 |
| Total | $236,800,557[19] |

Without a doubt, first the railroads and later the airways of Colombia have been almost indispensable to United States economic interests in that Republic. It is interesting to note, however, that in both cases little or no United States capital was used; Germany and Great Britain figure predominantly. The first railroad in Colombia was the Antioquia R.R., chartered on February 17, 1875. This was built with German capital.[20] Those built between that date and 1915 were without exception, owned

---

[18] "Loans to Latin America", Bulletin of the Pan American Union, 75, 52.

[19] Winkler, 115.

[20] Frederic M. Halsey, Railway Expansion in Latin America, New York, 1918, 68.

by Companies from London or Liverpool; e.g., the Ferrocarril Santamarta was the property of the Santa Marta Railway Company, Limited, London.[21] The Ferrocarril de Puerto Wilches, was built by J. Fletcher Toomer of London.[22] It was only in 1915 that the United Fruit Company built a railway chiefly for the hauling of bananas, but pledged to carry passengers and other freight to the Magdalena River from Santa Marta. Today most of the railroads have been acquired by the Government so that only a small amount of mileage is in the hands of private enterprise.

In the story of airways Colombia has the distinction of having the oldest commercial airline in the world. It is the AVIANCA (Aerovias Nacionales de Colombia), founded in 1921 under the name of Sociedad Colombo-Alemana de Transportes Aereos (SCADTA). This line was founded by Germans and run by them until 1940 when it was nationalized by the Colombian Government and merged with other smaller lines to form one national airline in the country. Today it is affiliated with the Pan-American Airways and is the second largest affiliated airway in South America, the one in Brazil being the largest.[23]

Much of the interest in Colombia in the last twenty-five years has been dictated by the discovery of rich oil fields in that country. Economic penetration has not been, however,

---

[21] La Prensa Asociada El Ferrocarril Santamarta, Bogota, 1911.
[22] La Prensa Asociada El Ferrocarril de Puerto Wilches, Bogota, 1912.
[23] Lyn Smith and Manuel de J. Manduley, "Wings and Wheels for South America", The Inter-American, II, 1943, 10.

centered solely in the petroleum industry as far as private capital is concerned. The banana industry has for years been in the control of the United Fruit Company of the United States. Private banks have sent millions of dollars of capital into Colombia, either as loans to the State or to private individuals of that country. Colombians themselves are aware of the situation and for the most part accept the condition in good grace, preferring to work with, rather than against a force too powerful to stay. Relations, especially in the banana industry, have at times been strained, and oftentimes complicated, but they have never been uninteresting.

The story of the banana in Colombia, which is the story of the United Fruit Company, is the oldest in the history of economic relations with Colombia. This company had its beginning in two events that happened in 1870 and 1871 respectively. The first of these occurred when Captain Lorenzo Baker, docking his boat at Port Morant, Jamaica, was given a few bunches of bananas. On his return to the United States he found a ready market for his hitherto unknown fruit, and this decided him to begin a trade in bananas.[24] The second event happened in Costa Rica when the president, General Tomás Guardia, granted a contract for a railroad construction to Henry Meiggs, then building a railroad in Peru. This engineer put the job into the hands of

[24]Charles D. Kepner, and Jay H. Soothill, The Banana Empire, New York, 1935, 33.

his nephews, Henry Meiggs Keith and Minor Cooper Keith.[25] As the work progressed the younger brother gradually became the chief promoter of the railroad, and in an effort to create freight for his road he became interested in the banana culture. This venture was so successful that in time he gained control not only of the banana industry in Central America, but also of the Colombian Land Company, then growing the fruit around Santa Marta, Colombia. By the end of the century there were a number of companies engaged in the banana trade, and in 1899 Keith amalgamated with the Boston Fruit Company to form the United Fruit Company.[26]

When the United Fruit Company purchased its first Colombian property it included 12,547 acres of banana plantation. The available acreage is limited by the water supply and this acreage is about utilized in the vicinity of Santa Marta.[27] The soil in this section of Colombia is naturally fertile and there are five rivers to supply the moisture required for the cultivation of bananas. The largest of these rivers is the Río Frío and plantations along this river can extend into the interior for twenty miles. In Colombia, most of the thousands of laborers who work in the banana fields or at the irrigation canals are native Colombians. Many of these have been able to save part of their earnings and have bought small farms of their own.

[25] Ibid., 33.
[26] Ibid., 35.
[27] Frederick U. Adams, Conquest of the Tropics, New York, 1914, 236.

The United Fruit Company deals with these by the contract method, agreeing to pay a certain amount, according to the count. A typical contract is binding for five years during which time the farmer is bound to sell all his fruit to the United Fruit Company. Each week the farmer must give an estimate of the fruit that is to be cut, which estimate is supposed to come within five percent of the amount actually harvested.[28] Most of these contracts are obviously unfair because the farmer must sign if he wishes to market his fruit. More than this, the contract gives the United Fruit Company permanent rights to construct telephone and telegraph lines on the property of the signee without paying for these rights. It also gives the Company the right to a fifty-foot right-of-way through the property, without cost if a railroad is to be constructed by the Company.[29] Colombian planters, especially, have resented these contracts and have tried to change them. Early in the 1920's they sent a commission to Boston to attempt to have the contracts modified, but the Company refused to listen. Then in 1930, Juan B. Calderón and a group of planters organized a business which they called the Cooperative Banenera Colombiana. This company entered into an agreement with the Robert Brining Company of Liverpool. They agreed with this Company to send 250,000 stems a year for four successive years. In June, 1930, the first shipment was made and a month later a second one followed. When

[28] Kathryn Wylie, 76.
[29] Kepner, The Banana Empire, 258.

the third shipment was ready, the United Fruit Company notified the agent of the Leyland Steamship Company that the Company was carrying fruit that belonged to the United. The agent replied that he could do nothing about that fact without being unjust to the Brining Company. The agent suggested that the United get in touch with Senor Calderón. This the company refused to do. The Cooperative, taking the next step, put the case into the hands of the Public Land Commission of Colombia. This commission acted as mediary in suggesting that the United Fruit Company send an employee to the receiving station of the Cooperative, where in the presence of two witnesses, he could take all the bananas brought in by farmers under contract to the United. Again the Company refused, but suggested to the Commission that the Cooperative should send to the Government a list of the plantations from which they were buying, with an account of the acreage and boundaries of the plantations and the amount they were buying. The Commission answered that it had neither the right nor the wish to bind the Cooperative.[30] The United Fruit Company bound itself by the contracts to submit any disagreement between itself and the planters to the Santa Marta Courts. In order not to have to do this, the United Fruit Company brought suit against the Leyland and the Brining Companies and in that way took the suit into English courts, where the planters would not be able to have anything to say. Obviously, the case was

[30] Ibid., 286-288.

settled in favor of the United Fruit Company of the United States.[31]

The second type of relationship between the United Fruit Company and Colombians, affected the laborers. As was stated before, labor on Colombian banana plantations is almost entirely native. This fact insures among them a chance for closer cooperation than is possible where much of the labor is in the hands of imported negro workers. In the Colombian industrial system much of the labor is furnished by the padrone system. That is, an individual hires a certain number of laborers and takes them from plantation to plantation with him. Under this system, since the men are not on the payrolls of the Company, they are not entitled to draw a workman's compensation, nor are they entitled to any medical service given by the Company to men in its employ. From time to time these laborers had attempted to obtain justice through local courts, but too many of the petty judges were under some obligation to the United Fruit Company and therefore afraid to act freely. The laborers then resorted to isolated strikes, without however, gaining any great advantage. But in 1928, a strike involving a large number of workers broke out. At first, this seems to have been a non-revolutionary group, that is, they were not led by revolutionists. However by the time the strike was a few weeks old leaders with Communistic tendencies had taken over. On October 22nd of that

[31] Ibid., 90.

year the Company agreed to hear the complaints of the strikers but refused to do anything to alleviate them. The men then threatened a general strike and when the company still refused to arbitrate, a general strike was called for November 11th.[32]

> The demands of the workers included: fulfillment of the law of the republic concerning collective insurance, workman's compensation, hygienic dwelling places, social hygiene, a day's rest in seven: the establishment of hospitals in sufficient numbers and a proper sanitation of camps; a fifty percent increase in wages for the lower paid laborers; a discontinuance of the commissaries and the use of credit slips in the place of money; a substitution of weekly for fortnightly payments in cash, and of collective for individual contracts.[33]

Faced with the alternative of a general strike, the United agreed to all the above mentioned points except that of insurance. Since, by this time, the laborers were determined to have all they asked, they carried out the general strike on the day appointed. When it was in full swing the army was called out to protect, as was said, the laborers who did not strike. In the course of the month that followed the strikers and the soldiers came into frequent conflict. Finally, after some fifty of the strikers had been killed the strike was suppressed.[34] Deputy Jorge E. Gaitán, who made a personal investigation of the banana zone, declared to the National Congress that the affair was more than a strike, that it was in some measure a peasant

[32] Ibid., 325.
[33] Ibid., 327.
[34] Ibid., 329.

revolt against a foreign company for attempting to deprive the planters of their lands and irrigation rights.[35] It is evident that the United Fruit had amicable relations with neither the laborer nor with the small plantation owner.

The United Fruit Company had relations also with Colombian Government. The first important conflict with authority was the one concerning the railroads. In 1890 when Keith had begun his banana industry in Colombia the railroad was controlled by the United Fruit Company which held most of the stock. Besides, by 1925, over 90 percent of the freight carried by this road was bananas.[36] At the same time it had never agreed with the Colombian government, and from 1915 on, Colombia had attempted to purchase the road.

> On November 30, 1925, however, the Supreme Court of Colombia decided that the Santa Maria Railway Company, had failed to give public service up to the Magdalena River. Consequently, the Court ruled that the Company must pay damages for this default, that it must turn over to the nation the latter's share of the profits of the road, that the Company had forfeited its right to the use of the railroad, except those portions which were in public service prior to 1911, and that it must sell the railroad to the nation on the latter's pleasure.[37]

Now the Government of Colombia was acting within its rights, for the subsidiary company had failed to live up to its contract. The United, however, had no wish to operate a private line nor

---

[35] Ibid., 164.
[36] Ibid., 165.
[37] Ibid., 165.

did it care to be at odds with the Government. In 1931, therefore, the United lent $500,000 to the Colombian Government. This was really an advance payment of a tax on bananas, but it served the purpose of the Company, because less than a year later the Colombian Government had leased the Magdalena Railway to the United Fruit Company for a period of thirty years. Thus, once more this Company had succeeded in having a disagreement settled in its own favor.

For some reason the Colombian Government tends to make laws in favor of the United Fruit Company in spite of its monopoly of the banana trade and in spite, too, of the fact that these laws work hardship upon the native independent growers. In 1931 Colombia laid a small tax upon bananas, and because this was a federal tax, for twenty years no Department within the country could levy any additional tax upon bananas. This same law permits the president, with the consent of his cabinet, to grant banana concessions, without Congressional action being taken. The president may also adjudicate large tracts of unused land for banana culture.[38]

It is evident, then, that the United Fruit Company has the banana industry of Colombia, and in fact of the entire Caribbean area within its control, through contracts, concessions, and legislations as well as through the Company's Great White Fleet. This fleet is composed, in normal times, of about one

[38] Ibid., 292.

hundred well-maintained merchant ships, which ply between the banana countries and eighteen great ports of the United States and Canada. These provide indispensable transportation south bound as well as north bound. The vessels fly the flags of the banana producing countries and are manned by the nationals of Middle America and not by citizens of the United States.[39] Independent growers and Labor have been able to do little against contracts, and it would seem that the Colombian Government is too deeply indebted to the Company to be able to stop concessions and land grants.

The history of oil in entire South America as well as in Colombia is again another chapter in the history of Big Business, this time that of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. According to Mr. Bell, the oil friends of Colombia can be roughly divided into six districts:

> (a) That of the Caribbean Coast from Rio Hacka to the Gulf of Uraba; (b) the area of the northern part of the Department of Norte de Santandar, near the headwaters of the Catalumbo River, which flows east; (c) the region covered by the original De Mare concession, in the Department of Santandar (del Sur) east of the Magdalena River; (d) the region lying along the foothills of the Central Cordilleras between the headwaters of the Sinu River and the San Jorge River; (e) the region west of the Magdalena River; (f) the region west of the city of Popayan near the Pacific Coast.[40]

---

[39] A.A. Pollan, The United Fruit Company and Middle America, New York, 1944, 10.

[40] Ibid., 292.

When the Calvin Coolidge Commission reported a coming shortage of oil in the United States, the interest of both the Capital at Washington and Wall Street in Colombia increased rapidly. The oil fields of this republic are near the seaports of Baranquilla and Cartagena, within easy reach of the steamers passing through the Panama Canal. Engineers have estimated that the possible supply of oil was sufficient to supply the demands of these steamers. Since that statement was written it has become an accomplished fact a few times over. Robert De Mare, a French engineer who had been naturalized in the United States at this time had some holdings in Colombian Oil. In 1905 he had obtained a fifty-year concession on oil land in the heart of the Department of Carare. The tract then lacked definite boundaries as it had never been surveyed, but it was supposed to contain about 3,000,000 acres. In the meantime De Mare had become unable to operate his concession and the Tropical Oil Company of Pittsburg bought it from him. Both the Tropical and the Andian National Corporation, operating in Colombia, are subsidiaries of the Standard Oil Company, though the latter is from Canada. Up to the year 1925 the annual production of oil from Colombia was held down to about 500,000 barrels. This was in all probability due to two factors; the first, that this Republic was wary in allowing oil to be exploited to its full capacity; and secondly, and probably the most important, that every barrel had to be brought to the port through the jungles.[41] Bermeja, at the edge

[41]Ludwell Denny, We Fight for Oil, New York, 1928, 118.

of the oil fields and thirty-five miles from the Magdalena port of Barranca. From there one has a river journey and finally a sixty-mile railway trip to Cartagena.[42] Understanding this, the effort that must have been expended, it is not hard to see why the amount of oil brought from the Colombian fields was comparatively small, and remained so until methods of transportation could be simplified. This happened in 1925, when the Andean Company employed a young engineer, Mr. M.M. Stuckey. He almost immediately saw the advisability of a pipe line to the tidewater district, and began the stupendous task of laying three hundred and sixty miles of pipe through the jungle.[43] By 1926 this task was completed.

> In the first week of July, 1926, the tanker T.J. Williams cleared the port of Mammonal, Colombia, South America, with a cargo of approximately 80,000 barrels of crude oil for the United States....In Mammonal it marked the completion of a chapter of industrial history of Colombia which will find a place among the epochal events of that opulent and colorful Republic. The cargo was the first consignment of petroleum by the Tropical Oil Company from the hinterland of Colombia, trasnported to tidewater through the 360 mile pipe line of the Andian National Corporation and thence on its way to the waiting markets of the world.[44]

The above quotation was written probably with an eye for the South American readers, though it is a reprint from The Lamp;

---

[42] "Petroleum Transport in the Tropics", Bulletin of the Pan-American Union, 60, Washington, D.C., 186.

[43] Denny, 118.

[44] Petroleum Transport in the Tropics, 181.

it does, however, give one an idea of the great importance of transportation in the oil industry. Since 1926 and up to 1935 over $40,000,000 additional capital has been invested by the Tropical Oil, and the Andian Company has enlarged the capacity of the pipe-line until it now carries from thirty to fifty thousand barrels daily.

The relations between the Colombians laborers and the Oil Companies operating there seem to be much more amicable than are those of the United Fruit Company and the laborers. There are no recorded strikes among the workmen though most of the jobs in the production of petroleum are in the hands of Colombians.

> In the production, refining and distribution of oil, the Colombians have shown wonderful adaptability. In the field, those employed about the derricks are making rapid progress toward mastering the drilling will be performed by native Colombians. In the refinery they have shown a surprising capacity for the mechanical departments. In the case and factory, where cans are turned out by intricate and powerful machinery, the entire personnel is now Colombian.[45]

Besides the labor relations properly so-called, the Standard Oil is interested in the welfare of its employees. Adequate medical care is available and both the Tropical and the Andian Companies maintain perfectly equipped hospitals. Through proper samitation in and about the camps, the dread disease of the tropics, malaria, is under control.

---

[45] Ibid., 1188.

As far as the government of Colombia and the Standard Oil is concerned, except for the situation explained in Chapter II of this paper, relations have been cordial. The development of the oil reserves has been of economic importance to Colombia, but up to 1926 all the oil used in Colombia had to be shipped in, and this in spite of the abundance of crude oil available even at that time. In that year, however, the Tropical Company built a refinery which now supplies all of the nation.[46]

> Since 1926 the Tropical and Indian Companies transferred $14,501,000 in cash to Colombia and imported into the country $25,732,184 in machinery, materials, and supplies and a further $60,000,000 in foreign products for resale within the Republic. In the same period these companies paid $40,960,493 in royalty and taxes to the Colombian Government. Their income tax payments approximated one-third of the Republic's total income tax collections. Expenditures of $36,654,588 for Colombian goods and labor were a strong prop to local industry at a time when internal trade and employment were at low ebb.[47]

No one reading the above is foolish enough to think that the Companies received no return for these enormous expenditures. Taxes and royalties mean only a small percent of profits; income taxes mean large incomes, at least outside war time, and resold goods means profit. Granted all this, the fact still stands that while the Companies took, they also gave and gave generously. As Américo Gastro suggests in his monograph, other

---

[46] "Campo de las Infantas" The Lamp, 18, New York, 20.

[47] Ibid., 21.

nations have taken everything without any thought of betterment of the country from which they received.[48]

To summarize the economic relations between the United States and Colombia, one must remember that there are three types of economic interest in Colombia from our country. The first is the United States Government and the loans it has made to the Colombian Federal Government, the Departments and the Municipal Governments. The second is the surplus capital that has found its way into Colombia from individual banks and capitalists. Another second of the same type is the individual big businesses that have enormous interests in Colombia. The third type is the merchant who deals with merchants and individuals in that South American Republic.

The United States has been generous in the aid it has given to the sister Republic and has been sincerely interested in her economic improvement. Capitalists have seen a fertile field in Colombia and have for that reason shifted much of its capital southward instead of eastward. Private enterprise has had almost unlimited advantages in the production of oil and bananas. The Yankee merchant has finally learned that a man from South America will trade with a man he likes even though he may have to pay a higher price for the goods he buys. As a result much more is being sold by these merchants than was the case a

[48] Américo Castro, "On the Relations Between the Americas", Points of View, No. I (December, 1940) Pan-American Union, Washington, D.C.

decade ago.

On the other hand, Colombia has had economic advantages also. Coffee coming to the United States is free from duty and the Coffee growers maintain an Association Headquarters here in the United States to advance the interest of its members.

## CHAPTER IV

## CULTURAL RELATIONS

Cultural Relations between the United States and Colombia in their present form and extent are the newest of the relationships. There have been in the past relationships between the educated people of Colombia and of the United States, as is evidenced by the fact that students from Colombia have long been attending colleges in the United States and exchanges of scholarly thought have long been in progress between professors and scientists here and in Colombia. These contacts would be classed under the heading of unofficial relationships along intellectual lines. But in 1938 the United States officially established a division of the Department of State which was first known as the Division of Cultural Relations and was to embrace all countries. This Division is at present known as the Division of Cultural Cooperation. By the end of 1939 it had limited its scope to Latin American countries alone, Colombia, of course, among them. A brief description of the machinery of this division seems pertinent, for Colombia has shared in the motives of goodneighborliness and has cooperated with the program of understanding.

In the words of G. Howland Shaw, the Assistant Secretary of State in 1941, "Cultural relations mean simply that you are

interested in what your neighbor is thinking and doing and you hope that he is similarly interested in you: you recognize that he has something worth-while to give you and in return you would like to make available to him the best that your experience affords; you want to pay him a visit and you would be glad if he came to see you; you believe that this mutual interest, this exchange of experiences, these visits cannot fail to result in a better understanding and wider recognition that nations, like individuals, are interdependent".[1] Both the United States and the Latin-American Republics have recognized the truth of the above quotation and have, in consequence, made definite efforts to bring about such friendly relationships. As has been said, the result of this effort in the United States has been the Division of Cultural Cooperation. This Division is responsible for formulating policy and for initiating, coordinating and putting into effect all programs of the United States which are designated to encourage and strengthen cultural contact, interchange and mutual understanding between the people of the United States and other peoples.[2]

In order to carry out the above objective the Division must necessarily carry on varied activities. It plans and puts into effect for the Department of State, programs of a recipro-

[1]G. Howland Shaw, "Inter-American Cultural Relations", Cultural Relations Among the Democracies, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1941, 1.
[2]Bulletin of the Department of State, XI, No. 270, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1944, 223.

cal and cooperative nature. These programs are intended to achieve mutual understanding of the intellectual, technical and other cultural developments of the United States and other nations. In this capacity it also evaluates the effectiveness of such programs.

The Division of Cultural Cooperation in collaboration with the office of the Foreign Service, plans for the adequate staffing in Foreign Service establishments, in order to carry out the cultural relations program.[3] As a result of this service Hershel Brickell was appointed in 1941 as head of the Cultural Relations office at Bogotá.[4] The Division offers guidance on the conduct of cultural relations programs and activities through such attachés and other Foreign Service officers. Moreover, it evaluates the effectiveness of the work of the attachés and their reports of cultural developments. This includes the evaluation of the significance of these developments to the Foreign relations of the United States.

Another activity of the Division is the planning and executing of the programs of the Department of State for cooperative exchange of students, interns, and trainees in such fields as education, the professions, the arts, the sciences, technology and the crafts. It also cooperates with private and governmental agencies engaged in student training programs.

---

[3] Ibid., 223.

[4] G. Howland Shaw, "Cultural Cooperation Program", Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1944, 70.

The Division plans and executes programs for the interchange of leaders, experts and teachers in such fields as the arts, the sciences social welfare, technology and public administration. This service includes as well programs for the interchange of books, music, art materials, and scientific equipment. It assists in the establishment of libraries and cultural centers. Lastly the Division advises and assists private organizations engaged in maintaining schools in other countries.

The Division of Cultural Cooperation works closely with the Motion Picture and Radio Division, the Division of International Conferences, the Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation with the American Republics and the Geographic Division. In particular the Chief of the Division or his designated alternate shall participate in the Interdepartmental Committee clearance of cooperative projects of other Federal agencies.[5]

Colombia, along with other Latin American nations has taken advantage of the opportunities offered through the Department of State of the United States. In 1941, travel grants were awarded through this Department, to four individuals going to Colombia. Dr. Henry K. Beecher, Professor at Harvard Medical School and member of the staff of the Massachusetts General Hospital, was awarded a travel grant to give a series of lectures on the pharmacology of anasthesia and its clinical applications at the National University of Colombia. A second grant was

[5]Bulletin of the Department of State, 224.

given to Dr. William McKee German, Pathologist of the Good Samaritan Hospital at Cincinnati and former student of the Cancer Institute in Madrid. He was enabled through the grant to give a three month's post-graduate course in Pathology at the Faculty of Medicine of the National University of Colombia. The third travel grant was awarded to Mr. Thornton N. Wilder, an eminent American novelist, who visited Colombia, met distinguished leaders and lectured before interested groups.[6]

During the same year two distinguished Colombian writers were enabled through the same grant to visit the United States. These were Dr. Roberto Cortazar, Colombian historian and writer, and Dr. José María Restrepo Millán, Colombian educator and writer, and Professor of Latin, Greek, History of the Spanish Language and Linguistics of the Escuela Normal Superior, and National Inspector of Secondary Education of the Ministry of Education, Bogotá.[7]

Another project of cultural interest carried on by the Department of State is the Centro Colombo-Americano at Bogota. This is a school established to further friendly relations between Colombia and the United States. In addition to classes in English on all levels, the school has courses in conversational English, shorthand and professional vocabularies. The majority of the students are between 15 and 30 years although

[6] The Program of the Department of State in Cultural Relations, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1942, 16.
[7] Ibid., 22.

there are individuals of all ages from 5 to 64 years.[8] Of those enrolled, the greater number are office workers and university students. Occasionally teachers from the Centro give courses outside the school. An example of this type of work is the intensive course which was given by three of the staff members to the Christian Brothers at their school, the Instituo de la Salle. The course lasted for two and a half weeks, from January 3 to 19, 1944. Forty-nine Brothers were in attendance. Classes were held in conversation, composition, and pronunciation and phonetics.

It is evident, then, that though the initial work of the Department of State in Cultural Relations is not yet ten years old, it is functioning effectively even today, under strenuous wartime conditions.

Private agencies too, are active in furthering friendly relations between Colombia and the United States. These work in close collaboration with the Office of the Coordinator, but their work is distinct from it.

An interesting project along these lines is the one carried on by the University of Pennsylvania in December, 1941. In the summer of that year the Institute of International Education requested this University to receive thirty visiting students from Colombia. The University was to prepare a six weeks course

[8] Letter from Charles A. Thomson, Office of Public Information.

for them, academic as well as political.[9] The course was accordingly organized under three heads; the first was brush-up work in English; the second one, simultaneous to the first, was a tabulation of the regular courses of the University in which these students might be interested. Their matriculation cards admitted them to these classes and to the libraries, laboratories, and clinics. The third found Spanish-speaking staff members from each Department to act as "tutors". Through these tutors the student was enabled to get in touch with the best in the field in which he was interested, both inside the University and outside. Mr. Otis ended his article with these words: "All told, we believe that our project has created thirty-one centers of Inter-American friendship in the Republic of Colombia, and an incalculable number of similar centers here in the United States; and that the exchange was not only one of good will, but also of good ideas."[10]

A second project of interest was the initiation of a school of business administration as part of the Gimnasio Moderno of Bogotá. The Department of State paid the expenses. These were the salaries of Dr. J. Anton De Haas and an instructor, and money for books and equipment. The Gimnasio Moderno is a privately endowed school in Bogotá and the idea of the new school of business was initiated by Dr. Daniel Samper at the

[9] Otis H. Green, "Colombian Students at the University of Pennsylvania", Hispania, XXV, Washington, D.C., 201.
[10] Ibid., 203.

time rector of the school. He presented his ideas to a group of American residents of Bogotá who referred the matter to the Office of the Coordinator. As a result Dr. De Haas from Harvard went to Bogotá to study the need of business training. He arrived in September of 1942 and remained about a month. As a result of his findings an advisor-instructor was provided for a year. This advisor was to aid in the laboratory work in statistics and accounting; to supervise the work in report writing; to collect and prepare cases and other teaching material; to act as advisor to the part-time teachers selected from local business.[11] In this school four years of collegiate work are offered but only three years are required for a professional degree. The fourth year, according to Dr. De Haas' plans will give students from the United States and Latin American countries an opportunity to do graduate work at the school. At present the School is corresponding with American Universities in an attempt to work out a cooperative plan which can go into effect after the war.[12] It is interesting to note that in each of the three years there is a course in the Practice in Commercial Correspondence and Compiling Reports in English, because "The cultural and economic relations between Colombia and the United States require that the men of Colombian business know perfectly the mechanics of the English language.[13]

[11]Letter from Lloyd H. Hughes, Associate Education Program Officer, Inter-American Educational Foundation.
[12]Letter from Dr. Anton de Haas.
[13]Gimnasio Moderno (catalog), Bogota, 1943, 9.

A third interesting experiment in cultural good will is the Inter-American Institute of Meteorology, established at Medellín, Colombia, in February, 1943. This city was chosen because it is centrally located with regard to Latin America in general, and because the climate is favorable for meteorological observations. The students are selected by competitive examinations; there are two hundred of them, Latin Americans. Each receives a scholarship to cover living and traveling expenses. The program is to last six months and is expected to aid the countries of Latin America in the development of agriculture, aviation, and public health.[14]

In connection with health and hospitalization, a notable step was made during the Spring of 1944 by the Jesuit Father Granados of Bogotá. Realizing the possibilities of the Catholic hospitals in the United States for the training of nurses and hospital administrators, this father, as a guest of the Department of State, arrived in Chicago after studying hospitalization in many American cities. His plan was to send under Department Of State auspices six young ladies of Bogotá to one of the hospitals of Chicago for training in techniques. These six nurses were sent to St. Bernard's hospital, Chicago, on scholarships and at the end of their training are to return to Bogotá with several American nurses. They will be the teachers and administrators of the large new hospitals being built in Bogotá and

[14]"The Inter-American Institute of Meteorology", Division of Intellectual Cooperation, Pan-American Union, Washington, 1944.

Medellin. If the plans of Father Granados are completed this procedure is to be followed during the coming years until Colombia has a sufficient number of instructors in nursing and Nursing education. Other hospitals of the Loyola School of Nursing have promised cooperation.

A second important Federal organization for the furtherance of cultural cooperation is the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. This office was created by Executive Order on August 16, 1940.[15] It had a $3,000,000 fund as a start. The chief of the Office is to serve without compensation, is to be a member and chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee on Inter-American Affairs, and is to be directly responsible to the President. He is charged with reviewing existing laws, coordinating research, recommending new legislation, and formulating and executing a program in cooperation with the State Department. The activities of this Office now come under the supervision of the Department of State.

Current operations of this Office can be grouped into two general categories: hemispheric economic development with related health, sanitation and food supply programs; informational activities carried out through the media of the press, radio, motion pictures and education.

---

[15]Nelson A. Rockefeller, "What the Office of Inter-American Affairs Has Accomplished in Its Four Years," Export Trade and Shipper, New York, October 9, 1944, 17.

Two agencies with entirely private funds have lately organized inter-cultural relations with Colombia. These are the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Institute. The former is "an organization chartered under the laws of the State of New York in 1913 'to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world'. The general fund of the Rockefeller Foundation now amounts to $165,000,000 both income and principle of which are available for appropriation."[16] The contribution to cultural relations with the Republic of Colombia which is being made by this Foundation can be divided into: fellowships, support of summer-schools, and disease control.

Fellowships granted to Colombians by the Foundation in 1942 included three in the field of health, three in Medical Science, one in Social Science and one in Humanities. In 1943 there were two scholarships for long terms of residence and special types of research; there were four in Natural Sciences. In 1942 there was one grant in aid. In 1943 the Foundation arranged through a grant in aid to have the learned Dr. Germán Arciniegas of Colombia to teach at the University of California for part of the scholastic year. The same year a travel and training grant was given to an experienced health official from Colombia. Aid was also given to Professor J.M. Otsy Capdequi

[16]The World Book Encyclopedia, XIV, Chicago, 6154.

for research in economic history at the National University of Bogotá.[17] In both 1942 and 1943 support was given to the American Library Association for conducting a summer school for librarians in Bogotá.

> The instruction was in four main topics: administration, history and purposes of libraries; book selection; information on bibliography, classification and cataloguing; and methods of giving service to the public with emphasis on reference work, adult education, and the needs of children.... The amount of the grant was $9,250, to be used largely for salaries and travel of the American staff, for books and materials, and in special cases for student aid.[18]

The third field in which the Rockefeller Foundation gives aid to Colombia is in the field of disease control. The Government of Colombia receives aid from the Foundation, for the purpose of study and control of yellow fever in Colombia. By 1943 the amount paid to Colombia was $56,705.89. During 1943 this service provided extra funds to ship yellow fever vaccine from New York to prevent epidemics, until Bogotá can begin to manufacture this particular serum-free vaccine.[19]

No account of the relations between the United States and Colombia is complete without an account of the Pan American Union and its work in the furtherance of good will. Its history dates back to the first meeting of the Republics of the Western

[17] Annual Report of the Rockefeller Foundation, New York, 1942, 101, 133, 194, 233, 1943, 142, 169, 99, 195.
[18] Ibid., 1942, 223-224.
[19] Ibid., 1943, 191, 67.

Hemisphere, called the First International Conference. This was held at Washington in 1889 to 1890. Since then these conferences have taken place every five years. The diplomats attending these meetings "seek to provide the means to meet whatever problems may confront the nations of America at that particular time, and outline the continental policies which are to serve as a guide during the ensuing period.[20]

Mr. L.S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan American Union at the present time believes that the success of the Pan American movement rests upon six factors. The first of these factors is the will to peace. Because public opinion supports the Union in its desire for peace, that desire can be effective. The second is the principle of united action against all forms of aggression. The third is more far-reaching for it calls for international cooperation and mutual helpfulness.[21] For this reason the Pan American Union organized within itself the Division of Intellectual Cooperation. It is at present under the leadership of Mrs. Concha Romero James, who has the title of Chief of the Division. The Intellectual Division is "devoted to collecting and disseminating information on American art, education, literature, scientific development etc. It also fosters cooperation between Latin American individuals interest-

[20]Manuel S. Canyes, "The Meetings of Consultation", Bulletin of the Pan American Union, 78, 145.

[21]L.S. Rowe, "The Americans and the World Order", Bulletin of the Pan American Union, 78, 62.

ed in these fields."[22] In the past three years the Division has sponsored a series of monographs known as Points of View. These monographs are literally what the title suggests, points of view of men and women, outstanding leaders in American thought. Among those who have already contributed to Points of View, is Dr. German Arciniegas of Colombia. His books, The Knight of Eldorado, and The Germans in the Conquest of America have been translated into the English language and have appeared in the United States.[23]

A fourth factor in Pan American solidarity is a willingness on the part of the American Republics to settle difficulties "by the orderly progress of mediation, conciliation and arbitration." Another important factor is the consistent refusal to allow any alignment of states resulting in so-called balance of power as Europe has always known it. Lastly the Americans believe that the only way to settle regional difficulties is by regional meetings.[24]

Both the United States and Colombia have subscribed wholeheartedly to the above factors and both of the Republics have sent competent representatives to each Conference of the Union. A study of a chart of the status of the treaties and Conventions at each of these conferences one may learn some interest-

[22]Mrs. Concha Romero James, "Preliminary Survey of the Inter-American Cultural Activities in the United States", Points of View, September 25, 1939, Washington, D.C., 2.
[23]Letter from Mrs. Romero James.
[24]L.S. Rowe, 63.

ing facts concerning these Sister Republics. For easier handling these treaties may be divided into those having a diplomatic background, those with an economic background and those with a cultural background. There were no such treaties signed at the First Conference held at Washington, D.C., 1889-1890, but there were nine of them at the Second Conference held at Mexico City from 1901-1902. Of the five with a diplomatic import, three were signed by both Colombia and the United States; one concerning the rights of aliens was ratified by Colombia but not signed by the United States. The fifth concerning obligatory arbitrations was not signed by either Republic. Of the two economic treaties and conventions the one concerning literary and artistic copyrights was signed by both but the one on patents and trademarks while signed by Colombia was not signed by the United States. The two of cultural import were signed by both nations.[25]

Of the three treaties or conferences at the Third Conference in Rio de Janeiro, 1906, Colombia and the United States acted in perfect accord; in two cases the ratification was deposited by each and in the third the treaty was signed. The same thing was true at the Fourth Conference at Buenos Aires in 1910; Colombia signed in all four cases while the United States deposited the ratification in each case. In the four conven-

---

[25]A. Curtis Wilgus, Development of Hispanic America, 767-771.

tions at the Fifth Conference at Santiago, 1923, it was the same: where Colombia signed the United States deposited its ratification. The Sixth Conference at Habana in 1928 recorded eleven treaties and Conventions. In two instances the United States did not sign when Colombia did, and both cases had a diplomatic import. One of these concerned asylum, the other private international law. In two cases the United States deposited ratification with reservations when Colombia simply deposited ratifications. The first case concerned the status of aliens and the other the rights and duties of States in event of civil strife. At the Seventh Conference at Montevideo in 1933, neither Republic signed the Nationality Treaty. The United States did not sign the Revision of History Textbooks as can readily be understood since Education is a prerogative of individual States.

The Conference for the Maintenance of Peace at Buenos Aires in 1936 again had eleven treaties and conventions. Here again both Colombia and the United States were in perfect accord, since the only cases in which they differed concerned Public Education, which as was stated above is understandable.[26]

The ninth Conference was held at Rio de Janeiro just after the Americas had begun to enter the war at the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942. At this conference the United States and Colombia were singularly in accord in their ratification

[26] Ibid., 767-771.

of treaties, conventions and agreements. Both of these two Republics signed at that time, two bilateral treaties. Both of these were in the nature of a supplement to former agreements; the first modified the agreement made in 1938 regarding a naval mission. The second was an extension of the agreement on military mission that was also made in 1938.

These cultural relations have not emerged as full-grown projects, but are rather the result of a slow growth accompanied by much thought and planning. The movement is still very young, but in the last decade the fruits of that careful planning have begun to be noticeable. Colombia and the United States are building a cultural understanding that is destined to keep growing and which will result in not only a better understanding between the Federal Nations, but also between the individuals of these nations.

## CRITICAL NOTES ON AUTHORITIES

1-SOURCE MATERIAL

The Congressional Record, Sixty-fourth Congress, First Session, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., contains a record of the proposed treaty, and The Sixty-Seventh Congress, First Session of the same publication has an account of the treaty reported from the Foreign Relations Committee. Senate Documents, Volume VIII, gives the ratification of the Treaty. The Manuscript, Treaty of 1825, Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois, was consulted for the treaty between Colombia and the United States in that year. Colombia y los Estados Unidos, by Antonio Uribe, Bogotá, Colombia, is an account of that statesman's effort to pass the law which gave to the Republic of Colombia the control of all the sub-soil wealth.

2-LETTERS

In Chapter IV some of the material used was quoted from letters from Dr. J. Anton De Haas, of Harvard University; Lloyd H. Hughes, Associate Chief of the Educational Program, Office of the Inter-American Educational Foundation, Washington, D.C.; Mrs. Concha Romero James, Chief of the Intellectual Cooperation Division of the Pan American Union. Mrs. James' letter also contained a memorandum of the Inter-American Institute of Meteorology. Another letter used was one from Charles A. Thomson, Office of Public Information, Department of State, Washington, D.C.

3-PRIMARY MATERIAL

Colombia, a pamphlet published by the Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Commerce Department Building, Washington, D.C., contains material on the general features of Colombia. The World's Work, Vol. XXVI, New York, published an article by Earl Harding on the Treaty between the United States and Colombia. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. XXII, Philadelphia, Pa., contains the article by John H. Latané, "The Treaty Relations of the United States and Colombia." The Foreign Policy Association Information, Vol. V, New York, contains the enlightening article written by Dr. J. Fred Rippy, "The United States and Colombian Oil". Trade Bulletin, Department of Agriculture, 1926, Washington, D.C., and the Bulletin, Department of State, 1940, 1941, and 1942, were all consulted in the compilation of this paper. The Bulletin of the Pan American Union, Vol. LXII to LXXV were used to compile table of trade figures, while Vols. LXII, LXVIII, LXV, and LXXV were all used for articles. Latin American

Trade with the United States, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., was used for obtaining figures relating to trade with Colombia. Hispania, XXV, Washington, D.C., contains the article "Colombian Students at the University of Pennsylvania", by Dr. Otis Green. Tradatos y convenios de Colombia, 1919-1938, by Eduardo Guzman Esponda, Bogota, 1939, contains the text of the Treaty of 1936. Gimnasio Moderno, 1943, Bogota, is the Bulletin of the School of Business Administration, quoted in Chapter IV. The Annual Report of the Rockefeller Foundation, 1941, 1942, and 1943, New York, was used exclusively in tracing the work done by that Foundation in Colombia.

4-SECONDARY MATERIAL

Latin America by Preston E. James, New York, 1942, is the complete geography of Latin America. Colombia, by Phanor James Eder, London, 1913, is one of the older but reliable books on Colombia. History of Colombia, written by J.M. Arrubla and Henao, and translated by J. Fred Rippy, Chapel Hill, 1939, was used for the historical background of Colombia. Investments of United States Capital in Latin America, by Max Winkler, Boston, 1929, is a careful summary of economic relations with Latin America to 1929. Historical Evolution of Hispanic America, by J. Fred Rippy, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1938, and The Development of Hispanic America, by A. Curtis Wilgus, New York, 1941, are two reliable general works quoted throughout the paper. Church and State in Latin America, by Lloyd Mecham, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1934, is a scholarly account of the difficulties between the Roman Catholic Church and the Republics of Latin America. The United States and Colombia, 1765-1934, by E. Taylor Parks, Durham, N.C., is the history of diplomatic relations through those years; it has extensive bibliography. We Fight For Oil, by Ludwell Denny, New York, 1928, was the only work in book form consulted. The Banana Empire, by Charles D. Kepner who studied the situation of the United Fruit Company in Colombia. For the diplomatic relations, A Diplomatic History of the United States, by Samuel Flagg Bemis, New York, 1936, and A History of American Foreign Relations, by the same author, New York, 1927, were both quoted.

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Sister Mary Eudocia (Parsons), S.S.N.D. has been read and approved by three members of the Department of History.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

Nov. 21 1944
Date

Signature of Adviser